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1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Bohème pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

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Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element. The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

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/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

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Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed *1* [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

175* whether Bulgarians or Serbs, proceeded from Salonika at approximately the same time, but was most intense during the reign of Basil I.

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798 175* Methodius had not obeyed the Pope's injunction to abandon the Slavīc liturgy but, when summoned to Rome in 879 to explain his position, was again victorious on even this point. John VIII, however, endeavored to conciliate Svatopluk, who had never been personally sympathetic toward Methodius, by naming as the latter's suffragan the Prince's favorite priest, one Wiching, who immediately took the side of the Frankish clergy and blocked Methodius at every turn. The Archbishop eventually decided to shift his activities further south, and in 881 set forth on a journey toward the valleys of the Drave and the Save, where he received an invitation from Basil I to visit Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius was, after all, an old friend, and the Emperor himself was well-informed of Methodius's activities in a frontier area not entirely alien to Greek interests.

Upon his return to his diocese Methodius at first concentrated his efforts on translating additional canonical books and ecclesiastical texts. Unfortunately for his pastoral work, however, John VIII was poisoned in 882, and under Stephen V hostile exchanges between Rome and Byzantium were resumed. Methodius himself died in April, 883, after designating as his successor Gorazd, his most capable disciple. Wiching, Methodius's old enemy, straightway renewed his intrigues and had no trouble in securing the favorable ear of a pope already irritated against Byzantium. Stephen V abandoned the Slavīc liturgy altogether, Wiching's partisans secured the eternal exile of Gorazd and the other disciples of Methodius, and thus the work of twenty years in Moravia was wiped out.

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795 After the decision of Prince Boris of Bulgaria to accept conversion in 862, the next twenty years were marked by fruitless papal attempts to gain control of the Bulgarian church. In 870, indeed, the Eighth Oecumenical Council, under the influence of Basil I, had formally decided that the Bulgarian church was subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and

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grandfather had begun, and as a result of his victories in 1559 ^{175*} the Order was dissolved. Esthonia became Swedish, Livonia ⁷²¹ fell into Polish hands, and Courland became a hereditary duchy and a fief of the kingdom of Poland. Esthonia and Livonia did not definitely become Russian until the Peace of Ny-stadt in 1721, and Courland fell into Russian possession only by the third partition of Poland in 1795. Early in the second World War we witnessed the final German surrender of all vested rights in this area acquired since the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Though Poland of the sixteenth century was by no means a ^{175*} peaceful state, it felt the influence of the Protestant reforma- ⁷⁹⁸ tion and, at least until a Catholic reaction set in under Jesuit direction about 1564 after the Council of Trent, had a reputa- tion for religious tolerance. As a result, the religious wars in Germany started a new current of emigration into Polish territory, especially into the Posen area. At the same time, Low-German Protestants (Mennonites and other reformists) moved into the Pomorze around Danzig, where the local population had been decimated by the thirteen-years' war waged by Kazi- mir Jagiellonczyk against the weakened Teutonic Order from 1453 to 1466. This Low-German immigration took on greater proportions after Stephen Batory's siege and capture of Danzig in 1577, extending particularly to the courses of the Warthe and Netze rivers. Though the counter-reformation was by this time in full swing throughout Poland, these Protestant settlers, because of their industry and skill in agriculture, were guaran- teed religious freedom, and remained free peasants even in an age when serfdom was the native Polish farmer's universal lot. At the same time, however, other settlers came into the lower Vistula valley from Brandenburg and Pomerania under much more onerous conditions, since they were without capital and completely subject to the caprice of their landlords.

This migratory movement was resumed in the seventeenth century during the Thirty Years' War, though many of the refugees from Brandenburg returned from Poland to their

175* homes after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In Silesia, however, the persecutions incident to the counter-reformation caused the migration into Poland of some 200,000 Germans, who were responsible for the creation of the textile industry in western Poland. In eastern Poland as well, the German element played a prominent role. In 1648, for instance, when the Cossack Hetman Bogdan Chmelnitski, aided by the Crimean Tartars, threatened eastern Galicia, the German inhabitants of Lemberg paid one third of the ransom by which the city was saved, and German officers and soldiery fought on the Polish side in all the battles of the period.

175* Sweden came out of the Thirty Years' War greatly strengthened by the momentary possession of the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, and its king, Charles X, thinking to gain the support of the Elector of Brandenburg for further conquests at Poland's expense, recognized him in 1656 as Duke of Prussia, thereby bringing East Prussia under the sovereignty of Brandenburg. Then, by the Treaty of Wehlau, the next year, the Poles surrendered their claims to East Prussia, thereby assuring the rising Prussian state of the undisputed possession of this area until the Seven Years' War, though it was returned to Prussia after the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia in 1762. Silesia was regained by Prussia the next year, the Vistula valley south of Danzig fell to the German share by the first partition of Poland in 1772, and the Posen area followed by the second partition of 1793. Such, then, in its broadest outlines, is the process by which the political frontier between Germany and Poland was determined prior to 1914.

177 Until the nineteenth century there was little racial hostility between German and Slav. The German expansion eastward during the Middle Ages had been dictated by religious and economic motives, and the conflicts in which Poland, as an independent state, was involved with its neighbors before the partitions were the result of dynastic ambitions and jealousies rather than of any collision of national ideologies. The practical services rendered to the development of agriculture, trade,

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tion, and the reconstruction of German economic life subordinated to the reconstruction of the devastated countries.

On the United Nations' Security Council the Polish delegation fastened on the Spanish problem, displaying all the more energy, inasmuch as none of their positive interests was at stake. They backed the views supported by France and the Soviet Union on rupture with Franco, and decided, on April 5, 1946, to recognise the Giral Government--an eminently platonic gesture, for Franco's Spain and Poland had no diplomatic relations.

The religious question, too, was a serious preoccupation of the Government, which refuted the widespread accusation of wishing to persecute the Catholic Church. It had, moreover, always included 'practising' Catholics among its members, for Poland is certainly one of the few countries where 'Leftists' are just as good Catholics as 'Rightists'. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, himself declared that, in spite of the denunciation of the Concordat of 1925, and the absence of relations between Church and State, there was no question of a Kulturkampf in Poland.

There is no doubt; however, that the law (which came into force on January 1, 1946) rendering civil marriage compulsory and authorising divorce conflicted with the consciences of a large section of the population. The education reforms had dealt a death-blow to the religious schools. In the face of these measures, the Church adopted an attitude of restrained disapproval, in order not to make the situation worse; moreover, she had her 'Red-Bishops', such as Mgr. Adamski, Bishop Katowice, whose sympathies were known to lie with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why the hierarchy avoided clashes was the fear of reviving accusations brought against certain of their members as the result of their attitude during the occupation; this in spite of the courageous conduct of the enormous majority of the prelates, and the murder by the Germans of four bishops and two thousand priests.

It was, moreover, evident that the Warsaw Government's hostility was directed less against the Polish Church than against the Vatican, which they reproached with its policy during the war and its attitude in certain actions brought against agents of the occupying authorities. Yet M. Osubka-Morawski likewise

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accused the hierarchy, in connection with the Kielce pogrom,¹⁸ of not having adopted a sufficiently bold attitude towards anti-Semitism, and of having refused to sign the declaration of all political parties, condemning this racial crime.

The Cardinal addressed to the foreign press declarations in which, while deploring the acts of violence, he attributed them largely 'to the dominant position assumed by the Jews in the Polish Government, and to the efforts made to give Poland a governmental structure that the majority of the country did not desire'. As may be imagined, these words aroused passionate comments. The same remark applies to the pastoral letter addressed to the faithful on the eve of the elections, asking them to vote only 'for persons, lists or programmes in favour of Catholic teaching and morals'. Without mentioning the Marxist Parties by name, the pastoral reminded Catholics that they must not belong to 'organisations whose principles are contrary to this teaching and this morality'. The Cardinal was anxious, he said, to 'reconcile the Christian faith with a sound revolutionary movement'.

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It was in Czechoslovakia that the adaptation of political and social life to the new state of affairs was achieved with the minimum of clashes and the maximum of realism. The Second Republic was stabilised under the form of a 'Socialising Democracy' (according to President Benes's term), half-way between Communism and the Bourgeois State. It no longer had the same exterior structure as Masaryk's republic, having adopted a *sui generis* type of bi-national community, with equal rights for Czechs and Slovaks. There was another innovation—a still more vital one—the elimination of minorities, whose presence and militancy had hindered its development, before contributing to its dislocation under the Hitlerian onrush.

¹⁸ In this locality, on July 4, 1946, there was a pogrom, arising out of a trifling cause, in the course of which 45 Jews were massacred. Nine of the presumed authors of this massacre were condemned to death. The clandestine organisations were accused of having fomented anti-Semitic passions, whereas, in reality, the latter had remained very much alive in Poland—as witness the testimony of Dr. Shoskes, South America's representative in the Society for Assistance to Jewish Immigrants, and M. Segal, delegate to the World Jewish Congress of New York. Despite the frightful losses they suffered during the occupation, which reduced them to an insignificant minority, the Polish Jews, for the most part, aspire to leave the country. This is one of the indirect aspects of the Palestinian problem.

¹ [in Kielce - Analyst]

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sent as Papal Nuncio. In November, Mgr. Joseph Beran, a 648
Dachau deportee, was appointed Archbishop of Prague.
Czechoslovakia was then the only Slav State having accredited
diplomatic representation with the Holy See.

In Slovakia the clergy had to suffer from the fact that a 798 •
priest, Joseph Tiso,²¹ who succeeded Father Hlinka as Leader of
a Peoples' Party, had controlled the so-called 'Independent'
State under the Nazi occupation. In some cases, proceedings
against 'collaborators' took on the aspect of an anti-Catholic
drive; some Associations, and even some religious communities,
were dissolved.

As regards foreign policy during this period, it was dominated 648
by two questions, the claim on Teschen and the 'liquidation' 563
of the Hungarian minorities. The Teschen problem has been 728
dealt with above, in connection with Poland; we will simply 175
remind the reader that the Prague Government was adamant in
its claim. 'Czechoslovakia will not give up one scrap of
Teschen', declared President Benes on July 18, 1946. The treaty
of alliance of March 10 left the matter in suspense until 1949.

The evacuation of the Hungarian populations raised a bitter
and prolonged dispute between Prague and Budapest.

An agreement concluded on February 27, 1946 provided for
an exchange between Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in
Hungary, on a parity basis, to the number of 150,000 persons.
The Government of Budapest was to make this agreement widely
known amongst the Slovaks placed under its jurisdiction.

But the intention of the Czechs was to expel from their
territory the whole of the Hungarian minority, which was far
more numerous than the Slovak minority in Hungary.²² And
so they asked that country to take over 200,000 other members
of the Magyar minority, and a further 60,000 Hungarian
minority subjects, expelled as war criminals or political offenders.
The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia who might escape these
various transfers would be 're-Slovacised', and would cease to
enjoy any minority privileges. Prague emphatically insisted that

²¹ His trial opened on December 2, 194(5?) before the High Court of
Bratislava.

²² Out of the 645,000 Magyars who lived in Czechoslovakia in 1939, [728]
110,000 were in Carpathian Ruthenia, ceded to the Russians. There
remained 435,000, more than half of whom were considered to be
'inassimilable'.

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But it goes without saying that it was upon the Churches of the Balkan States that Muscovite influence was exercised most directly and decisively. In Yugoslavia the hierarchy created at Sremski Karlovci by Russian exiles, and which Mgr. Antoine, ex-Archbishop of Kiev, had organised immediately after the First World War, was dissolved and had to go into exile. A Russian delegation, presided over by the Metropolitan Serge of Odessa, went to present a mitre to Joseph, Metropolitan of Serbia, in February, 1946. The real object of this mission, which spent a month in Belgrade, was to define the future relations between the Yugoslav Church and the Muscovite Church.

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Then arose the case—a rather complicated one, it must be confessed—of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Mgr. Gavriilo. The latter had been accused by the Germans of having hidden part of the Crown treasure; he was interned, then taken to Dachau. When the Allies occupied Bavaria, he preferred retirement to Italy to a return to his country, where he was being begged to resume his duties. He adopted an attitude of opposition towards the régime established by Marshal Tito, as shown by his pastoral letter of Easter, 1946. The Serbian Orthodox Church had been rather badly treated by this régime, for she had been deprived of the education of the young, religious marriage had been declared invalid in law, and she had lost most of her property. It is said that it was under the influence of the Russian clergy that her Metropolitans invited the Patriarch to return. He did, in fact, return on November 14, 1946, and had an interview with Tito, during which 'all misunderstandings were cleared up'. And, as proof of this, at the Slav Congress in Belgrade on December 11, he made a speech in which, after having recalled the sacrifices made for the 'safeguarding of truth, the application of justice, and the defence of liberty', he manifested his joy at finding that the Slavonic peoples 'sorely tried by the bitter experience of their recent and remote past, were expending all their energy in their spiritual unity'. 'Slav solidarity', he concluded, 'is manifested, today more than ever, with the help of our mother, Russia, and of Generalissimo Stalin; it is the surest guarantee of the development of the Slavonic peoples'.

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In Bulgaria the clergy, after seventy-five years of schism, returned to nominal obedience to the Patriarchate of Con-

795 when the word 'Uniat' will survive only as a historical idea'.
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• [798] The Vatican published a note contesting the validity of this Council, recalling that part of the Catholic clergy of the Ukraine had been cast into prison; it saw, in the Lwow decision, the result of political pressure exercised by apostate priests.⁴

Nevertheless, the movement spread. The Patriarch Alexis, addressing the Uniates of Ukraine—formerly Poles or Czechs—put its development in the domain of political realities: 'You have always been united to Russia and her people by ties of language and of customs. Now that Divine Providence has restored to Russia her ancient frontiers, you are with us for ever'.

In any case the role of Uniatism as the vanguard of Catholicism in the Slavonic world seems to be, if not completed, at least paralysed for many a year, despite the resistance of part of the clergy and the support the dissentients can expect from the Catholic Ukrainians of Canada and the United States. The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate⁵ defined the lines on which the 'unification' is being carried on, by opposing the 'œcumenical spirit' to the 'imperialist spirit'. 'Universality is of God; Imperialism is of Cæsar. A new Orthodox era has been inaugurated by the rebirth of Western Orthodoxy at the great Council of Moscow; by the renewal of communion between the Russian Orthodox Church and her Eastern sisters; by the end of schisms and discords among the Orthodox (especially the reconciliation of the Bulgarian Church with Moscow, and the restoration of her rights to the autocephalous Georgian Church, brought into subjection to the Moscow Synod by the will of the autocratic Tsarist régime); by the journey of the Patriarch Alexis who, for the first time, went to pray at the Holy Sepulchre in 1945; and by the visit which the Metropolitan Nicolaï made to the Orthodox Christians of Western Europe'.

Indeed, Orthodoxy is driving its offensive towards the West,

⁴ Radio-Moscow protested, in its turn, against this assertion, affirming that the Council represented 78% of the whole of the Uniat clergy. As for the bishops incarcerated before the meeting of the Council, these were, they said, traitors or accomplices of the German occupation. Cf., for the Catholic point of view on Moscow's policy regarding the Uniates, Charles Pichon: *Le Vatican*, in the series *Le Monde et l'Histoire* (Editions S.E.F.I.), pp. 396 *et seq.* According to Pichon only 5% of the Uniat priests had obeyed the Soviet injunctions.

⁵ Of February 2, 1947.

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642 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause
175 designed to protect minorities.
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[666] The elections, postponed until May 30¹, gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

[661] Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous
659 purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it
• 798 was the religious question which was to dominate political
175 life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were sternly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the
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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

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the idealism of the Serbian spirit at its highest point. For the night before the battle the Serbian Tsar had a vision in which he was offered the choice between an earthly and a heavenly crown. He chose the heavenly and rode out to the conflict and his own death on the morrow, knowing that from the earthly point of view all was already lost. There is something truly Orthodox here and especially perhaps Slav Orthodox, for Russian religion, too, is permeated by reverence for suffering in body or mind and a sense of its regenerating power.¹ It is this dark day of Kossovo which has become the National Day of the Serbian people. Day of utter defeat and obliteration of earthly hope as it was Kossovo Day has been observed ever since as a yearly memorial of the greatness of the past, and an occasion of self-dedication to the Serbia of the future.

But the new chapter of Balkan history which immediately follows bears the record of the Turk whose rule was marked by casual neglect, haphazard uncertainty and ingenious brutality.

The City of Constantine held fast for another sixty years. Then its walls were breached, and in the breach the last Byzantine Emperor died. Mahomet, the conqueror, rode to Justinian's Church of the Holy Wisdom where he dismounted and entered. He stopped the pillage that had already begun, and caused a passage from the Koran to be read from the pulpit.

For good and evil, Christian Byzantium had played out its part at the meeting place of East and West. Alexander's *Drang nach Osten* had come back like a flowing tide.

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The story of the Orthodox Church under the Turkish régime is one to excite both admiration and pity. The Turkish point of view must be grasped. They drew no distinction between nationality and religion, to them secular and religious politics were one and the same. This might be said of the Byzantine Empire too, but with a difference. Within the latter, there was a Church distinct from, and it might be, opposed to, the State. The Turkish armies sallied out with the con-

¹ Cf. Gorodetzky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, London, 1938.

viction that the world was to be subdued to Islam. If the people they conquered were simple pagans they were offered the crisp alternative of accepting either Islam or death. But the Jews and the Christians were different. They were recognized as being, like the Mohammedans themselves, People of the Book. Each had a scripture, a written record of revelation. Their faith was regarded by the Turks as true but incomplete, since Mahomet had superseded both Moses and Christ.

The Orthodox were, therefore, permitted to survive and to practise their religion, but under severe restrictions. They had to pay tribute, to wear a distinctive dress and to conform to other irritating and humiliating regulations. In practising their religion they had to refrain from letting any outward sign of it be seen or heard, there were to be no crosses, for instance, on their churches, and no bells were to be rung. All this was the letter of the Law, nor was there any guarantee that it would be adhered to by the victorious Turkish governors; indeed, it was often violated by a harsh sultan or a blood-thirsty local administrator. There was much suffering and many instances of martyrdom. Doubtless there were many cases of apostasy also.¹ Social pressure was a more effective agent in winning converts to Islam than deliberate oppression and direct official action.² Its results are to be seen in the atrophy of the Christian Church in North Africa, and in the considerable number of adherents which Islam gained at the expense of Christianity in the Balkans.

But it is the glory of the Orthodox people as a whole that under centuries of Turkish oppression and misrule, with every inducement to abandon their religion, they remained faithful to it in spite of all.

For purposes of administration under the Turks the Orthodox Church became the *Rum Millet*—the Roman nation, with the Ecumenical Patriarch as its recognized head and representative. That is to say the Patriarch of Constantinople

¹ See Latourette: *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 71 and f. London, 1945.

² It has been discovered in modern Russia that religion is like a nail, the harder you hit it, the deeper it goes in, and that the subtler policy of leaving social pressure to do its work is the wisest course for those who hope to see the disappearance of religion.

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